DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 111 319 HE 006 827

AUTHOR	Sexton, Robert F.; Ungerer, Richard A.
TITLE	Rationales for Experiential Education. Research Report No. 3.
INSTITUTION	George Washington Univ., Washington, D.C. ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	ERIC/HE-RR-3
PUB DATE	75
NOTE	57p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Publications Department, American Association for Higher Education, One Dupont Circle, Suite 780, Washington, D.C. 20036 ($3.00)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.76 HC-$3.32 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS	College Students; Cooperative Education; *Educational Experiments; Educational Objectives; Educational Strategies; *Field Experience Programs; *Higher Education; Instructional Design; Internship Programs; *Learning Experience; Literature Reviews; Practicums; *Teaching Procedures; Work Experience Programs

ABSTRACT

The concept of experiential education, defined as learning outside the normal classroom environment that has been planned for prior to the experience, is reviewed. This includes internships, field experience, practicums, and cooperative education. Topics covered deal with the liberal arts, professional training, institutional reform and the community, new goals of education, the transition from school to work, career exploration and issues of employment, work and service. Taken as a whole, the literature of experiential education is concluded to call for a new interpretation of the relationships of the individual to those institutions that affect him, including education, the workplace, and citizenship. It is suggested that to create an environment hospitable to true life-long learning, the relationships between learning and working and serving must be redrawn in such a way that the individual can gain more from all three activities and see that the three activities are not necessarily unrelated. The need is also cited to rethink the methods of teaching general or liberal arts education and to relate this type of learning to the acquisition of specific competencies or skills. (LBH)

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Rationales for Experiential Education.

Robert F. Sexton and
Richard A. Ungerer

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Rationales for Experiential Education

Robert F. Sexton and Richard A. Ungerer

ERIC/Higher Education
Research Report No. 3
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Prepared by the
ERIC Clearinghouse
on Higher Education
The George Washington University
Washington, D.C. 20036

Published by
the American Association
for Higher Education
One Dupont Circle, Suite 780
Washington, D.C. 20036

This publication was prepared pursuant to a contract with the National Institute of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their judgment in professional and technical matters. Prior to publication, the manuscript was submitted to the American Association for Higher Education for critical review and determination of professional competence. This publication has met such standards. Points of view or opinions do not, however, necessarily represent official views or opinions of either the American Association for Higher Education or the National Institute of Education.

Foreword

This paper reviews the concept of experiential education, defined as learning outside the normal classroom environment that has been planned for prior to the experience. This would include internships, field experience, practicums, and cooperative education. The purpose of experiential education so defined is to reinforce learning that takes place in the classroom by permitting students to practice what they have learned, but it also can permit the student to work in areas that were unexplored in the classroom. The authors conclude that experiential education ideally should function within the scope of clearly articulated societal objectives. Robert A. Sexton is executive director of the Office for Experiential Education, University of Kentucky, and Richard A. Ungerer is executive director of the National Center for Public Service Internship Programs in Washington, D. C.

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Introduction

There is no single "conceptual" base for experiential education, and it is not the purpose of this paper to define one. Instead, there are many "concepts" of experiential education, and our goal here is to explore these in their variety. Yet we argue here against narrowly focused concepts and emphasize instead concepts with relationships to one another, which are in fact related to a broader understanding about the nature of learning and work and indeed all meaningful activity, and weave together something like the threads of a cloth. While this paper does not attempt to weave the whole cloth, we hope we have come close enough by surveying the literature so that future efforts to understand what is meant by experiential education and to sythesize that understanding will be more fruitful than past efforts.

This is a survey of the literature of experiential education, and at the outset the reader will benefit from a brief explanation of a few conditions influencing the content. In the first place, we are talking about "experiential education" as something distinct from "experiential learning." While it would be counterproductive to draw semantic distinctions between these terms, common usage is gradually drawing distinctions between them. By experiential "education" we mean learning activities outside the normal classroom environment, the objectives of which are planned and articulated prior to undertaking the experience, involving activity that is meaningful and real and on the same level as that of other nonstudents in the same nonclassroom environment, and in which the learner has the assistance of another person (most often a faculty advisor) in expanding the learning as much as possible that takes place in nonclassroom settings. The terms internship, field experience, practicum, cross-cultural experience, service-learning, cooperative education, or "sponsored" work experience are often used to identify these activities.

The term "experiential learning" in our view has through recent usage come to mean something different. In many cases it identifies learning which an individual has attained through experience prior to enrollment in an academic program, either through life activities generally or from some specific activity such as a job or citizen involvement. In this case the new student's prior experience is assessed and evaluated by the academic institution, translated into academic credit and related to a new and individualized academic pro-

gram, and integrated into the total academic package. It is learning that has occurred prior to the "educational" experience, and hence has not been planned and articulated by student and mentor prior to undertaking the experience.

Our focus on preplanned and supervised experiential education is in part an arbitrary and limiting framework. But it is also based on the view that the conceptual bases of these two types of learning are quite different. While there is obviously cross-fertilization between the two and similarities related to learning theory, the students served, the objectives, and the rationales cannot be lumped together in a manageable way.

We have also avoided the systematic development of categories for identifying different types of experiential education—the "this is experiential education" and "this is not" syndrome. As a result the reader will not find "definitions" of specific terminology. Many terms are, of course, being used today, including internships, field-experience, cooperative education, cross-cultural experience, contract field learning, work-learning, service learning, and work-study. While there is no doubt that each term carries connotations of specific content and qualitative implications, and users draw distinctions between them, they do not contribute to a general analysis of "experiential education," the term under which they all fall.

In fact, we have found that efforts to categorize have sometimes shed more shadow than light on efforts to understand. Since our goal is to draw out the broad questions, to analyze rather than categorize, we have used all of these terms as they are used by the writers who employ them and have made no attempt to draw clear distinctions between them. We leave drawing these distinctions to the reader.

Another factor influencing this study is the limited quality and slim quantity of literature dealing with the conceptual framework of experiential education. This limit means that in order to draw a broad interpretation, resources outside the field must be utilized extensively—for example, persons who have broadly explored education, work, and American society and have made thoughtful contributions that can be useful for an integrated look at experiential education.

The study is divided into three broad sections. The first explores concepts of experiential education relating to the learning gained by the individual, the second explores concepts of experiential education as they relate to new dimensions and conditions in the world of

work, and the third explores concepts related to the role of the individual as a participant in the social and political process. (Robert Sexton concentrated on the first of these sections, Richard Ungerer on the second two). This division is somewhat arbitrary, and does not imply that these three conceptual categories are mutually exclusive. On the contrary, an integrated concept of experiential education requires that we consider the relationships between the three, and consequently the reader will find overlap among the sections.

This overlap leads us to a few tentative general statements about the concept of experiential education. As we see it, much of the literature has tended to stress some aspects at the expense of others. Experiential education is to reinforce learning that takes place in the classroom through the test of practice, *or* it is to encourage the student to dabble in unexplored fields. It is to provide manpower to needed areas of social service, *or* it is to sharpen the abilities of students to choose careers. It is to show citizens how the governmental process works, *or* it to acquaint students with the many facets of a culture. But specific focus does not suit experiential education well, for at the heart of the concept of experiential education is the belief that learning occurs in many and unexpected ways and that learning goes on throughout life and integrates with all the other roles of the individual. Therefore, we suggest that a concept be explored which recognizes that the conditions affecting our lives are not static, that the nature of work and citizenship and our use of leisure time will change substantially over a lifetime, and that the purpose of education is to help the individual meet these changes with a firm understanding of immutable values as well as a personalized ability to respond to these changes creatively. In other words, experiential education as an educational device can have an impact on both traditional goals and upon the way larger institutions (work, leisure, service) are shaped in the future.

Despite our efforts to integrate, we have stressed several themes as central to a conceptual framework for experiential education:

1. It is clear that experiential education is conceptually consistent with the broadest goals of liberal education, aimed at assisting individuals in understanding complex problems in their historical, social, and economic contexts and in dealing with this knowledge personally.

2. Experiential education is an important ingredient of professional education. Many believe that experiential education, if properly utilized, can contribute to the development of a broader and more humane professionalism.

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3. Experiential education can be an important factor in changing academic institutions, especially as these institutions deal with the inability of the individual to have an impact on society and in educating persons for an increasingly mobile and urban society.

4. Experiential education serves purposes newly highlighted in higher education, such as the development of interpersonal skills and career exploration. Yet the precise nature of experiential education as it relates to nontraditional education is still unclear.

5. Experiential education can be conceived of as a means of responding to changes in the nature of work, to the very different demands that will be placed on students in the future, and to the new work goals of young people.

6. Experiential education is seen as a vital component of the broad mission of preparing citizens for democracy at a time when inclinations toward active citizenship have been discouraged.

7. Experiential education is a way of reaching students who for any number of reasons are alienated from education in its traditional form, and for effectively reaching persons who have historically been left out of the postsecondary education process.

The concept of experiential education that emerges from this study is meant as a starting point for discussion of issues that have yet to be explored adequately. It is our view that experiential education can serve many purposes, some quite specific, identifiable, and manageable, and others that relate to the broader transformation of life and work. For example, experiential education can be a way of relating the academic world to the world of work and a way to help students pay for their education. We are therefore speculating that, given the attention of persons concerned about the critical issues, the concept of experiential education may be developed in significant new ways. At the same time, we strongly state the caveat that experiential education, as an instrument not an ideology, can be used for many purposes, and therefore should be viewed critically as functioning only in the context of clear statements of social objectives.

The Individual As Learner

The search for the conceptual basis of experiential education in academe has been laborious and not entirely fruitful. In part, this is because conceptualizing experiential education requires conceptualizing the goals and objectives of all education—a massive undertaking. Put differently, there are difficulties in conceptualizing a phenomenon, "experiential education," which characterizes something that doesn't really stand alone. As one thoughtful commentator put it:

> The phrase "experiential learning" is redundant. Most of us would never say "wet water" or "physical sex," but we seem very comfortable discussing experiential learning, tacitly acknowledging that there is some other kind. There isn't. To understand or realize something new means that it becomes part of our own individual foundation; we have made it real. This is experience. This is learning (Lyons 1972; p. 21).

It is also clear that the task has not attracted effort of the same quality and quantity as more global educational concerns. Neither have the spokesmen for specific experiential education programs been vocal in elaborating the bases upon which their programs rest.

Research on the educational value of experiential education has been limited to a small number of studies, and surprisingly few of these come directly from the academy. As a group, faculty and administrators have not made a large contribution to the literature, which would be practically nonexistent without the contributions of educational spokesmen of high visibility addressing more general concerns.

The literature on experiential education is also noncritical and nonevaluative. Perhaps because of their isolated positions as advocates, or their belief that experiential education has not yet been used to its full potential, practitioners have not raised serious questions about the pitfalls and difficulties of experiential education. There is virtually no work of serious research, statistical or otherwise, analyzing experiential education and relating it to programmatic goals;* instead we are faced with a literature tending toward broader philosophical statements.

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*A notable exception is Asa Knowles and Associates' *Handbook of Cooperative Education.*

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Considering the fact that experiential education is not a new phenomenon, this dearth of literature is perplexing. Yet there are explanations. The recent growth in the popularity of experiential education resulted more in activity, developmental and otherwise, than rhetoric, and those active in experiential education may be less inclined toward conceptualization and more inclined toward action. It is also true that experiential education is a service to broader educational missions, perhaps not justifying a solid literature all its own. After all, it is not a field of study, a discipline, or a body of knowledge per se.

As a result, our discussion of the conceptual basis looks beyond those most active as practitioners, to others who have spoken more generally of education and society. While this chapter does not attempt to synthesize this entire body of literature, it does deal with ideas generated both inside and outside the field we normally call experiential education to explore a conceptual basis.

Several general and interrelated themes emerge from all conceptual discussions of experiential education:

- Experiential education is a vital ingredient of "nontraditional education," and therefore worthwhile.
- Experiential education is a revitalizing component for general education or liberal education.
- Experiential education is a vital component of training for identifiable professional fields.
- Experiential education will foster a new role for the university in the community.
- Experiential education is important for achieving "new" educational missions, such as developing interpersonal skills or career awareness.

Experiential Education and "Nontraditional" Education

The relationship between so-called "nontraditional" education and experiential education has created some confusion about where experiential education fits in the reform patterns of the past few years. The question centers on the relevancy of such devices as internships and cooperative education to a self-conscious reform pattern that seeks to open up the educational system by providing more and better options for students, new mechanisms for dealing with old instructional problems, and new approaches to problems generated by expanded enrollments. Innovations include completely new institutions; four-year colleges with student-designed or competency-based curricula; external degree colleges; the cluster college within the uni-

versity; new methods of instruction, either through newspaper, community-based learning situations, or television; changes in the academic calendar; the creation of new degrees; new attention to personalized classroom instruction; and new evaluation procedures. The question remains, Is experiential education a reform? If so, what role will it play as a reform?

The difficulty in defining this role comes from the tension between the "new" and "traditional" uses of experiential education, between its use as a solution for many current problems in the educational and social structure and the traditional use of internships in various academic and professional programs. The tension is reminiscent of the concern about "academic objectivity" versus "academic impact." (Some would contend, for example, that the student in a field experience, faced with daily problems, must not become fully committed in order to be objective about the experience.)

Experiential education's popularity in recent years results in part from endorsement by widely publicized commissions on higher education, most notably the Newman Commission and the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. While this emphasis on experiential education has been salutory, by-and-large these reports have neither provided a conceptual basis nor clarified the relationships between experiential education and "nontraditional" education.

The Newman *Report on Higher Education* (1971) is the most provocative of the recent genre. Addressing itself to breaking the "lockstep" of education — which comes from isolation, lack of relevance, absence of career choices, and drifting from one campus to another—Newman's commission recommends that the pattern of college attendance be made more flexible and open. Flexible departure and reentry, easier transfer, and "second chance" opportunities are recommended:

> Students entering college would have experience outside formal education which could strengthen their motivation and increase their ability to choose [relevant] courses of instruction (Newman 1971, p. 67).
>
> Educational internships in government, industry, and social service, cooperative education programs, work-study programs, and the like should be greatly expanded. Public funds, on a matching basis, can be used to encourage internships and other types of informal higher education, much as present manpower programs now involve subsidies to employers for the training and retraining of individuals for jobs in the labor force (Newman 1971, p. 68).

One of the Carnegie Commission's technical reports, *An Inventory of Academic Innovation and Reform* (Heiss 1973), exemplifies the

confusion sometimes injected into discussions of experiential education. The report classifies rather than analyzes experiential education programs. The result is a narrowly focused concept of experiential education and minimal explanation of "why" it is considered an educational innovation. The categories include "community-based learning experience," "work-study off campus," "the internship," "the apprenticeship or practicum," and "field-study programs" (Heiss 1973, pp. 40-45). According to the author, all of these programs involve placing students in direct contact with some situation or institution where they can test and apply theoretical knowledge. These programs are primarily ways of developing new options within traditional or nontraditional educational institutions. The potential of experiential education, that is, how it will effect the institution and the total academic program, is left undiscussed.

Another Carnegie Commission report, *Less Time, More Options: Education Beyond the High School* (1973), which analyzes the "flow" of students through formal education and makes recommendations for changes both in flow patterns and resource allocation, also raises the demand for more options. Among these is the recommendation that various kinds of nonclassroom experience be developed through

> national, state, and municipal youth programs, through short-term jobs with private and public employers, and through apprenticeship programs in the student's field of interest (Carnegie 1971, p. 13).

The report also argues for the

> expansion of post-secondary educational opportunities . . . outside the formal college in apprenticeship programs, proprietary schools, in-service training in industry and in military programs: that appropriate educational academic credit be awarded for such experiences (Carnegie 1971, p. 13).

Toward a Learning Society (1973), another Carnegie Report argues again that in order to promote life-long learning

> Apprenticeship, internship, and in-service training will be used more widely than they are today to prepare persons for their life work in many professions, para-professions, and occupations (Carnegie 1973, p. 93).

The same report also argues for "national service" such as Peace Corps, VISTA, and University Year for Action as an ingredient in promoting a learning society.

One irony reflected in these reports is that experiential education

has been envisioned in its most traditional model, the professional training period similar to an apprenticeship. As a result, a narrow vision of experiential education is continued. Unexplored are the relationships between experiential education and broader reform goals. For example, we have no careful examination of the potential role of experiential education for motivating students who are either untouched by the system because they are unmotivated by the traditional classroom approach, or for the students who, though talented and acculturated to the classroom process, are simply bored by the "involuntary" campus.

Also untouched by commission reports is the potential of experiential education (dealt with in more detail below) for revitalizing and demonstrating the importance of education in the liberal arts. Experiential education may demonstrate basic humanistic, or social science concepts that are not completely comprehensible and certainly not assimilated through reading and listening. The development of sensitivity for social and political situations and understanding of the human condition through exposure to individuals unlike oneself may enrich the undergraduate curriculum for a large number of students.

Experiential Education and the Liberal Arts

It is clear that experiential education can contribute to the general development of young people during the college years. Experiential education can also make an important contribution to general or liberal arts education, which has recently suffered from serious criticism and internal doubt.

For some time practices in higher education have oversimplified the nature of learning, made assumptions that are not valid, and provided definitions that are too restrictive. We ought instead, says Morris Keeton, "to be considering new definitions of liberal education." Opposed to the concept that education is "static, that it consists of the most detailed syllabi on how learning will occur and what will be learned," Keeton sees education instead as

> a process in which unexpected things emerge. We should be looking for settings and mixes of students and faculty and tasks for learning which are better related than are present options to both present students and new ones. . . . One of the key opportunities that off-campus learning opens up is the opportunity to give students genuine exposure to conflicting outlooks, opposing philosophies, different styles of life, and different priorities for human effort (Keeton 1972, pp. 147-148).

Also supporting the need for experiential education as a component of general education, Douglas Davis has said that the

> experience would allow the student to become aware of the complexity of many of today's problems and solutions, to gain insight into the application of knowledge to human needs, and to obtain an understanding of the nature of knowledge which will be necessary to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow (Davis 1972, p. 150).

Arguing that we have too narrowly defined the goals of education, Phillip Ritterbush suggests "the essence of education is the mastery of experience; concentrating it into understanding, protecting it from memory's wear, and relating it to life's needs" (Ritterbush 1972, p. 10). Since the primary dilemma of modern man is that of coping with change, we should recognize that education cannot be static,

> not a portrait of our situation, to be carried off for display in a secure niche, but ways of experiencing our situation that will yield to understanding of change, as situations throughout life cannot be the same as that which is sought in the classroom, although it must be woven into it (Ritterbush 1974, preface).

A similar rationale has been offered by Kingman Brewster in arguing for a baccalaurate program allowing students to "stop out" for a year. Brewster maintained that

> despite the sharp contrast which a small world holds, we do little to develop a healthy tolerance of strangeness and healthy impatience with complacency. We risk both an unrealism and a smugness which is too easily engendered by an exclusively analytical and critical academic development . . . we do very little to train people to educate themselves, whereas the exponential rate of growth and change of knowledge makes it certain that this is going to be required increasingly over the lifetime of any person who wants to play an active part in his society (Brewster 1965, n.p.).

John B. Stephenson and Robert Sexton have suggested that in the face of new threats to liberal education, resulting in something like an identity crisis, experiential education can be a "revitalizing force." This revitalization can come through the interaction of humanistic reflection and active involvement, providing the student with a sensitivity and understanding for the human condition, adding new meaning to the cultural and developmental values we have long held as the major contribution of higher education to the individual (Stephenson and Sexton 1974, pp. 12-26).

As a liberal arts education style, then, experiential education is seen as nonstatic, sensitizing, utilitarian, and producing antonomy. It is designed to prepare students to confront a changing world with skills and attitudes fostered by a liberal arts education and honed in

real endeavors, and a firm sense of personal well-being. It is seen as contributing to attitudes that help the student relate to the human experience.

Faced with this changing world that is more mobile, urban, and conducive to alienation, with dilemmas that have not been solved by the rhetoric of the classroom, and given student attitudes toward work that seek to combine contribution *and* reward, educators have begun to explore experiential education not just as a pedagogical device, but as a means to refurbish academic programs while retaining traditional values. Two provocative articles that develop new lines of thought about these interrelationships are James Bevans' "Apropos of Experiential Education" (1974) and Lloyd J. Averill's "Competence as a Liberal Art." Currently, however, only the surface of these explorations has been touched.

Professional Training

Especially vocal in the discussion of internships have been political scientists and public administrators, who have stressed the value of experiential education for either professional training or for the general education of persons who are expected to understand the political system, or sometimes both. Their arguments focus on concern for developing awareness and sensitivity in the student and in the usefulness of social science tools in solving societal or individual problems.

At the risk of oversimplification, Thomas Murphy, whose field is city management, has almost exclusively emphasized the professional "skills development" aspect of the internship. The internship, says Murphy, connotes the "transition between learning and practice, much in the manner of the medical internship. . . . The primary interest is to bridge the gap between academic and professional worlds for the fledgling administrator." In addition,

> the popularity of internships, especially in graduate programs, is a manifestation of support for programs of professional education as opposed to those promoting study for the sake of liberal education (Murphy 1973, pp. 3-4).

James Robinson, on the other hand, recommends the broader view that political scientists need to have a "feel" for political situations. He says,

> having a feel for a situation may be likened to a state of being comfortable in it, a belief that one has the salient facts of the event, of

> knowing something of what to expect next, of taking many things for granted, of predicting without being surprised by the future (Robinson 1970, p. 77).

Put another way, the educational component of internships

> included acquiring facts, gaining insights into how political institutions and personages actually behave, and perceiving the interrelationships of individuals and structures (Hedlund 1973, p. 2).

One of the most widely recognized and quoted spokesmen for internships in political science has been Bernard Hennessy. Hennessy contends that the emphasis on internships grew out of two post-World War II tendencies in political science: the "behavioral persuasion," which argued for the collection and codification of data, and the tendency of political scientists toward policy and activism. As a result, the "scientific objectivity" of the behaviorist seems threatened by the "commitment" of the practitioner or consultant. Faced with this dichotomy, college teachers of politics began to search for ways to link "the study and the practice of politics more effectively and systematically than merely playing around." Political internships are valuable, says Hennessy, both to professional and nonprofessional students, largely because every citizen has the obligation to develop and maintain a commitment to participation in politics; this political education is one of the main functions of a liberal education. Hennessy's concept of the political internship is based on a variation of participant-observation. Through participant-observation, the student acquires *verstehen*, a form of socialization in the "subculture" of politics and a pattern of analysis and interpretation. Hennessy says,

> in participating as he observes, the field worker undergoes a secondary socialization (or resocialization) which allows him to perceive the major category of objects of the culture and to understand the major types of relationships and interaction (Hennessy 1970, p. 104).

As an alternative model Shelton L. Williams has recommended the use of "policy research" as an experiential learning device. Williams argues that this type of internship (research conducted by groups of students under contract to a government agency) provides two advantages. It creates an educational environment "in which students use their critical faculties in analyzing, formulating, and evaluating policy alternatives and their consequences," and assists students

> . . . in applying techniques acquired in a liberal arts education to the study of contemporary social issues. These techniques include not only

> modern research skills but the analysis of the ethical basis on which policy is or should be based (Williams 1974, p. 304).

Thus far, proponents of field experience as a component of professional education have argued primarily that the student's observation of the professional's activities leads to better professional performance on the part of the student. Yet there is a broader vision. Donald Hochstrasser, for example, argues that the challenge is to do away with the standard pedagogic division between the "intellect and thought" and "feelings and the will to do or accomplish," which he believes is a "false dichotomy between the cognitive and affective domains and between thought and action, learning and doing." Understanding this false dichotomy leads to the conclusion that we must combine the themes of the "usefulness of education" and the "wholeness of knowledge" in such a way that the full potential of education, both professional and general, can be realized. Experiential education with a strong reflective component can accomplish the integration of these two goals (Hochstrasser 1973, p. 8).

Institutional Reform and the Community

Experiential education demands a restatement of the role of educational institutions in the larger community. This active role has been seen by some as quite modest, a "by-product" for the community resulting from the learning of the student (Hedlund 1973, p. 3). But in reality experiential education requires an entirely new vision of the role of the institution in society, and some have suggested that the total restructuring of the institution to this end is the primary concern.

Experiential education presumes that educational institutions must play an active, forceful role both in assisting individuals needing expertise and in helping the larger society address its most serious problems. Donald Hochstrasser, for example, says that while experiential education is essentially academic in nature, it also provides "a new direction and level of direction in higher education." The basic difference by comparison with the more traditional and largely intramural approach is that it seeks to incorporate and take advantage of learning resources beyond the campus to pursuse a higher purpose. This higher purpose is no less than the

> revitalization and redemption of a contemporary social system that seems incapable of rising above its human failings and movement toward ecological catastrophy without such a change in education (Hochstrasser 1973, p. 4).

Donald Eberly has been speaking for many years in support of the integration of service and learning, hence the term "service-learning internships." Although there is continuing debate over the most desirable role of the university in the community, says Eberly, there should be no debate over the university's responsibility for learning. Consequently, "service" and "learning" tied together as fundamental to the learning process automatically involve the university in meeting the needs of the community. Not only are new links forged between the institution and the community, but students develop a new attitude toward work—an attitude that gives work meaning and relevance and encourages students to consider the service needs of society when making vocational choices (Eberly 1968).

Another proponent of this position, Robert Sigmon, sees experiential learning as part of a strategy for institutional change. He says the idea of service-learning internships is a "utopian vision." Students

> . . . are challenged to consider possibilities of a service-learning life style; strengthen their cultural commitments; and have skills of goal setting interpersonal relations and competencies (Sigmon 1974a, p. 23).

Phillip Ritterbush has also stressed experiential education as an institutional change strategy. Experiential education grows out of a restless era in which it was concluded that the "multiversity was not serving the needs of society." He argues further that

> The new aspiration responds to charges that the classical concept [of education] is irrelevant and that the career credentialist approach leads to ecological and social catastrophy. It seeks to take advantage of learning resources beyond the campus in order to pursue a higher aim—the redemption of a social system that seems incapable of rising above its failings without just such a change in education (Ritterbush 1972, p. 10).

The debate over the social role of the university has not come solely from advocates of experiential education. John W. Gardner of Common Cause argued in 1969 that colleges and universities have a responsibility to combat the "urban crises," yet they had not responded impressively to this demand. Not only do universities have an obligation to instruct students and expose them to problems of the cities through the educational process, and to train professionals to attack those problems, said Gardner, but they have a "corporate community" obligation as well. Representatives of the institution, faculty and students who are concerned with urban problems should become directly involved. Upon this rationale, developed by an indi-

vidual who is not directly involved with the use of internships, the justification for student involvement through internships in urban environments rests (Gardner 1969, pp. 6-7).

Out of the demand for university involvement in the community came the most significant federal program specifically designed for experiential education, University Year for Action. According to the official rationale of the program, it has two basic objectives:

> The first is to alleviate poverty through the application of the university's resources to the problems of poor people in the communities which surround it. The second broad objective is to assist universities in providing their students with experienced-based curriculum—one which provides the student with an opportunity to solve actual problems in real situations (Action, p. 1).

The educational component for University Year for Action was simply the awarding of academic credit for doing full-time work in anti-poverty situations; no further rationale for this was developed. The project was designed to help universities move toward the type of institutional change discussed above. Institutions sometimes used as examples of this reform include El Paso Community College, the University of Kentucky, the University of Massachusetts, Western Washington State College, and the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay.

Experiential Education and New Aims of Education

Experiential education has also been seen as serving new needs or objectives in postsecondary education. It has been argued, for example, that experiential education is effective in developing interpersonal skills and the ability to deal effectively with others, a goal that until recently has not been systematically approached. Others have argued that there are needs for "liberal skills," skills associated with a liberal arts education that have a direct social implication. Still others have suggested that higher education should renew its emphasis on preparing students, especially those in the liberal arts, for careers, or that by exposing students to career options their choices will be more fruitful. Finally, experiential education has also been seen as a device for improving student motivation.

Interpersonal Skills—Only recently have colleges and universities begun to consider seriously the need to develop interpersonal skills in their graduates, especially those in fields other than the traditional "helping" professions. Experiential education seems uniquely suited for the task, and has been used for this purpose in the fields of social

work and education. The concept is applicable to other academic endeavors, however, or as one faculty member explained:

> I see the objectives of our programs as personality growth, learning to take interpersonal risks, and learning to deal with oneself. The particular content is less important to me than what the person learns about how one deals with life (Quinn and Sellers 1974, p. 34).

The cross-cultural experiential education situation, immersing the student in a different culture, is often primarily for the development of interpersonal objectives. Students are expected to become more aware of their own cultural assumptions, more interested in their own roots, and more concerned with applying what they know to their own societies. Theoretically, the experience should also stimulate curiosity and experimentation (Myer and Petry 1972, p. 8-9). Cross-cultural experience is also expected to develop communication skills, commitment to other individuals, and understanding of human relationships, and force the student into a situation where decisions must be made on "inadequate, unreliable, and conflicting information" (Duley 1974, p. 14).

Personal development has also been emphasized by Harold L. Hodgkinson, who suggests that a developmental curriculum "assumes that patterns of students' psychological and intellectual development should form the basis of the curriculum, not patterns of subject matter heirarchy." The developmental approach means that "inquiry" strategies of learning, involving students in situations where they are not told the essence of the situaton but are expected to discover it for themselves (perhaps in an internship, or a contract learning environment, or an independent study project) fit in with the developmental needs of 18 to 22 year olds more than the traditional course pattern (Hodgkinson 1972, p. 7).

Richard A. Graham has taken the developmental argument futher, suggesting that voluntary action and experiential education can help develop patterns of logical thought and moral judgment in ways that may not be possible in the regular curriculum. Graham relies heavily on the work of Lawrence Kohlberg, a Harvard philosopher-psychologist, in arguing that there are stages of "moral development" through which individuals may pass. In Graham's view (based on Dewey), it is the precise "match" between the educational experience and individual needs that creates a learning "disequilibrium," and not mere exposure to a randomly selected experience. Using this hypothesis, he suggests that Kohlberg's stages of moral development may be both a way for determining the appropriate match between

the individual and the experience, and also a means of moving a person from one step of moral development to the next. The key to success in this situation is to match the individual with an experience slightly above that which the individual presently occupies. The resulting "structural disequilibrium" promotes the reorganization of the individual's thought process to meet the needs of the higher stage. If one of the aims of education (and Graham is primarily talking about secondary education) is to provide the individual with enough novel experience to encourage movement along the "moral development" path, then public service and the voluntary sector must be explored as possible places where these experiences can be found. The result of such a project would be to

> . . . help to make Americans more moral and America more just. People who possess more highly developed moral judgment are more concerned that their society be just and seem more inclined to take action to make it so (Graham 1972, p. 192).

The most recent effort to emphasize the importance of interpersonal skills comes from the project for the Cooperative Assessment of Experiential Learning administered by the Educational Testing Service. The CAEL project has selected interpersonal skills as one of its major project areas, based on the assumption that

> In virtually every aspect of living—social, economic, political—the role of interpersonal competence [should] be a central concern in the development of effective academic programs (CAEL 1974, p. 1).

Liberal Skills—The current difficulties of liberal arts education have encouraged efforts to modify and restate its objectives. One modified objective of liberal education is to instill in students some of the "skills" that professional education has been attempting to stress. To do this the internship is an obvious tool, because in formal education students are "provided little opportunity . . . to solve problems other than those that are hypothetical" (Sigmon 1974, p. 23). One argument for "policy research" projects is that they put students in direct confrontation with problems and demand that they come up with a solution, thereby forcing students to deal on a day-to-day basis with the problem-solving process, to "'do something' about the state of the world" (Williams 1974, p. 299).

These problem-solving skills are especially needed in liberal arts education. H. Bradley Sagen has said, for example, that education for the professions provides a useful model for general undergraduate

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education. Sagen points out that one of the crucial distinctions between academic and professional problem solving is that the former cannot cope with problems whose solutions do not begin with a review of the literature. But since most students will eventually have to deal with situations that require problem-solving skills similar to those needed in the professions, they should be exposed to situations which develop and test these skills. These "liberal skills" include the decision-making techniques of goal setting, conflict resolution, planning and forecasting; the techniques of legal reasoning; and organizational and interpersonal skills, such as leadership abilities and the ability to emphathize with others, which combine a capacity for abstract thought, sensitivity toward other human beings, and ability to interpret complicated information to those less educated (Sagen 1975).

Career Education—One of the most fashionable subjects in education today is "career education." While much of the discussion has focused on students in the elementary and secondary grades, there is no doubt that "career education" has implications for higher education. The literature, however, has not explored these interrelationships carefully, partly because it is assumed that students in the 18 to 22 year old group have more self-awareness and independence to discover information about careers than children, and partly because it is assumed that institutions of higher education, through their placement offices, counseling services, and location in the broader community, provide students with a number of career education opportunities. Yet this is not always the case. It is clear that for a large number of undergraduates selecting a career is a difficult matter, often involving the desire to combine service and meaning with a suitable life style and income.

Although education for the baccalaureate degree, including study in the liberal arts, has always been somewhat career oriented, beginning with Harvard's preparation of clergy and statesmen and culminating with the Morrill Act which "dignified and elevated the practical arts," Stephen K. Bailey argues that the present need is to

> . . . save career education from slipping into the traditional molds of training solely for the vocations and trades. . . . Fashioners of career curriculum must catch the spirit of liberal education and melt it with vocational and professional training at all levels (Bailey 1973, p. 258).

Bailey's qualms seem justified in the face of comments by some career education advocates. Sidney Marland, for example, while claiming that career education gives strength and purpose to liberal arts,

also makes the statement that "pedants sneer at an education that is useful, but if an education is not useful what is it?" Others, most notably Feldman, say that the disparity between what society needs and what the educational establishment produces is a problem of critical significance.

> Without artisans, the concept of liberal arts is sterile and vapid. We are often told that liberal arts serve to liberate the artisan from the necessary narrowness of his special skill. But it is also true that the liberal arts needs the nourishment of practical expression, and thus the practical arts are the basis of liberal values (Feldman 1972, p. 28).

As a nation, he says, "we are every year sacrificing thousands of young people on an altar of our doubtful and exclusive obsession with the so-called liberal arts" (1972, p. 28).

While there seems to be little doubt that the career obligations of universities and colleges to their students have in some cases been slighted, it is also necessary to reconcile these needs with broader goals. The argument for career education, because it has not focused on solving this dilemma, has diverted the search for a conceptual basis for experiential education. A merger of the two objectives would contend that the goals of career and humanistic education can be combined through structured and carefully designed experiential educational situations. Derek Bok of Harvard tried to reconcile these needs when he said:

> Outside the curriculum, more effort could be made to encourage undergraduates to take time away from college to live and work in environments that are neither academic nor similar to those in which the students have spent their lives. Though it is only a hope, the belief persists that a radically different experience can provide young people with a perspective on themselves and their lives that they may not achieve in other ways. In earlier times, a year or more at sea or abroad performed this function; more recently, military service may have served a similar purpose. As an antedote to many uninterrupted years of schooling, a time to live and work creatively among different kinds of people in an unfamiliar setting may contribute much toward the truist aims of a liberal arts education while helping to clarify the direction that a student will follow after leaving college (Bok 1974, p. 169).

Related to the career education debate is the suggestion that experiential education provides a motivational tool for disinterested students. This argument suggests that in some cases the exposure to a situation that is not "academic" can demonstrate the value and worth of studies undertaken on the campus. Not only might this apply to the aquisition of verbal and mathematical skills, but hope-

fully it might also demonstrate to undergraduates that the humanities and arts are valuable for coping with the daily obligations, many of them routine and boring, of the occupations that most persons undertake. It has also been suggested that the fact that many students are involuntary residents in institutions of higher education accounts for the unusual and extraordinary demands upon those institutions. Kingman Brewster suggests that we need a voluntary campus "because a university, too many of whose members feel captive, is corrupted, distracted, and fouled for all its members." Arguing that the lockstep of higher education has stifled the motivation of some of the most gifted students, he suggests "easier escape and reentry," which would do much to make the campus once more a "voluntary community" (Brewster 1970, p. 102).

The Critics

A review of the literature of experiential education would be incomplete without a discussion of its critics. Among these, two stand out for thoughtfulness and clarity. Ironically, these critics have written articles which, if their suggestions are treated openly and positively, strengthen rather than weaken the concept of experiential education. These two articles are Sidney Hook's "John Dewey and His Betrayers" and James Hitchcock's "The New Vocationalism."

Written from the perspective of a follower of John Dewey, Hook's critique focuses on modern reformers' misinterpretation of Dewey's work. As an educational reformer himself, Hook argues that this misinterpretation has resulted in educational approaches that would be offensive to Dewey and destructive of the purposes of higher education.

The most "fateful" misinterpretation of Dewey equates education and experience, from which it is inferred that "experience itself is educative" and "that any series of experiences—the more direct and dynamic the better—can be substituted for formal schooling, which is often disparaged as an artificial experience." On the contrary, Dewey drew a clear distinction between "experiences that are 'non-educative' or 'miseducative.' " "Educative" experiences are those resulting in

> . . . increased power and growth, informed conviction, and sympathetic attitudes of understanding, in learning how to face and meet new experiences with some sense of mastery, without fear or panic or relying on the treadmill of blind routine. The second [non-educative] may give excitement but not genuine insight, may result in mechanical training or conditioning that incapacitates individuals when the situations encountered in life change and must be met by intelligent improvisation (Hook 1971, p. 23).

This misconception has led, in Hook's view, to a proliferation of new activities, "covered by the euphemisms of 'field work' or 'independent study,' " which respond to the inaccurate assumption that student desires and interests should be the sole determinants of curriculum. Hook uses as an example a project description from the State University College at Old Westbury, which he admits may not be representative. His sample student defined her project as follows:

> Now I hear beautiful music. Then I paint a mind picture. Later I walk in the wood. Reverently I study my wood, know it. Converse with a poet meaningful to me. Make love (1971, p. 24).

This field work is contrasted, in Hook's vision, with intelligently supervised clinical experience, an experiment guided by a hypothesis, and testing of concrete situations similar to those the individual will ultimately face.

Hook's position is provocative. While agreeing that experience may result in learning, he denies that *all* "doing" is *ipso facto* "learning." More importantly, his position raises the question of which "learning" is to be emphasized by the educational community and which is not. Ironically, advocates of experiential education in search of a conceptual base have tended to avoid this question. As a result, by abdication, they have given support to the proposition that all "doing" is learning and therefore creditable.

What is needed is a closer look at the linkages between the general (nonprofessional) goals of education and experiential education, with special attention to the differences between carefully structured outside activities with articulated learning goals and more loosely structured "free-form" experiences. There is support for the belief that these general goals can be reached through experiential education, as some of the authors mentioned earlier have shown; but Hook's basic contention remains unanswered.

The conceptual basis of experiential education has also been indirectly but provocatively challenged by James Hitchcock in his article "The New Vocationalism." While Hitchcock does not directly discuss "experiential" education, his comments are nonetheless germane, especially for "career education."

Hitchcock's major contention is with the new pedagogical absolute —"relevance." Although originating from "leftist" or "radical" rhetoric, it has in fact become the tool of educational and political reactionaries. The deification of relevance has led to "educational confusion," because relevance "is indefinable, since it is whatever the

individual perceives as meaningful to himself, and such perceptions are constantly changing" (1973, p. 46). And "relevance" has led to an ironic situation.

> The greatest irony of the educational history of the past decade is the fact that relevance has turned full circle and is coming to apply precisely to what five years ago almost everyone agrees was fundamentally the wrong function of higher education—processing students for the System. In short, the newest version of relevance is vocationalism (1973, p. 47).

Hitchcock saw the main thrust for "neovocationalism" coming from persons associated with a "conservative" federal administration (in addition to the Newman Commission and several "educational radicals"). It is "tempting to speculate," says Hitchcock, that the

> . . . new emphasis on vocationalism no doubt builds on the awareness that, in general, students training for a specific career were much less likely to rebel or to become radicalized a few years ago than those in the liberal arts who contemptuously rejected vocationalism as an educational goal (1973 p. 47).

The political result, according to Hitchcock, would be a return to permanent tranquility on the campuses.

"Neovocationalism" is not, of course, solely the product of political conservatives. Just as importantly, it fills a vacuum "left by the general loss of self-confidence on the part of the chief practitioners of the traditional arts and sciences" as a result of the antiliberal tendencies they seem to have generated by raising great questions and challenges in the sixties. Ironically, the results of "new vocationalism" will be a decline in the importance of general education and an indifference to social questions. In addition, because the most elite and traditional institutions are unlikely to succumb to vocationalism, class distinctions between vocational students and nonvocational students will widen (pp. 48-50).

Like Sidney Hook, Hitchcock has raised questions for experiential education more significant than those coming from its advocates, questions that cannot be blunted with the retort that the "nonvocational" goals of education are not clearly articulated either. The relationship between "vocationalism" and "education within the concept of experiential education has not been fully explored. One explanation holds that the two ideas actually merge because, in order to be effective in a vocation, the individual needs a solid understanding of the relationship of that vocation to larger social and philo-

sophical concerns. This merger has long been the goal of higher learning, but does not seem to have occurred to any measurable degree.

In addition, Hitchcock's suggestions of political machination, even though the "conspiracy" theory may be overdrawn, remind us that experiential education, as an educational device and not an ideology, can serve many ends. It can be used by "change agents" or proponents of the status quo or both.

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The Individual As Worker

Increasing attention to the transition from youth to adulthood, primarily viewed as the transition from school to work, has been accompanied by a concern for breaking the "academic lockstep" and exposing and involving young people in the "world of work." This concern has led to an examination of the "world of work," current and projected changes in the workplace, and the worker of tomorrow.

A review of the literature turns up numerous pleas for the greater integration of the world of work and education. It is popularly agreed that work experience and various forms of experiential education unquestionably meet important student needs for career exploration, career testing, and various forms of career development. Furthermore, work opportunities for young people can be examined in the context of society's total employment policies and specifically the problems of youth employment.

Experiential education programs can likewise be examined for the service life-style they are believed to create and the attractive and significant services they provide to community programs. A final question that is addressed in this section is the critical or noncritical stance that experiential education programs adopt towards work and service in society.

The Transition from School to Work

There has been considerable concern in every major national commission dealing with youth—the Newman Task Force on the Future of Higher Education, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, the President's Science Advisory Committee Panel on Youth, the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education and the National Panel on High Schools—that many young people are caught in an educational lockstep between kindergarten and college. A central theme of the last three national panels was the inadequacy of traditional schooling to move youth to maturity. The Panel on Youth, chaired by James S. Coleman, summarized this theme:

> It is important to ask, along with specific questions about how schools function, more general questions about the development from childhood through youth to adulthood. Only by continuing to ask these more general questions can we avoid waking up some day to find that educational institutions are finely tuned and efficiently designed to cope with problems of an earlier day. Among the more general questions, we need

> to ask how it is that young people become adults. . . . Schools are the principal formal institutions of society intended to bring youth into adulthood. But schools' structures are designed wholly for self-development, particularly the acquisition of cognitive skills and of knowledge. At their best, schools equip students with cognitive and noncognitive skills relevant to their occupational futures, with knowledge of some portion of civilization's cultural heritage, and with the taste for acquiring more such skills and knowledge. They do not provide extensive opportunity for managing one's affairs, they seldom encourage intense concentration on a single activity and they are inappropriate settings for nearly all objectives involving responsibilities that affect others. Insofar as these other objectives are important for the transition to adulthood, and we believe they are, schools act to retard youth in this transition, by monopolizing their time for the narrow objectives that schools have (Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Commission 1973, p. 146).

A number of recommendations of each of these three reports are relevant for experiential education and the transition from school to work: there should be greater recognition of community-based learning activities; school isolates students from other age groups; additional designs for alternating work and school should be developed; opportunities should be provided for community volunteers, for interns in hospitals and government, and for various forms of work experience; closer ties should be developed with the community for use of community resources and for work and service opportunities. A specific recommendation of the Panel on Youth is for more opportunities for cooperative education, internships and apprenticeships — opportunities where there can be a mixture of learning and working roles.

Experiential education can be viewed as enhancing the maturation process of young people. Students participate in experiences where they learn how to accept responsibility and to be part of the adult society. Work settings afford the opportunities for youth to acquire vital maturation skills such as helping others who are less able and negotiating with others to protect one's rights, and to seek help when it is needed. Students are challenged to develop personal autonomy for their own learning and doing.

Others in addition to these panels and commissions have proposed and are attempting to implement national and state programs to help break the educational lockstep and provide increased experiential education opportunities. Representative William A. Steiger, Wisconsin, introduced H.R. 4309 in February 1973, proposing that community service options be created for students to "stop-out" from college:

> I would urge the members to consider an innovative approach to involving our citizens in the provision of community services. . . . This concept is designed to rekindle the idea of volunteer service to the community and the nation, create a new way to work one's way through college, enhance the abilities of young people to make career decisions based on experience, develop a socially acceptable mechanism to those students who are not ready to enter—or continue—in college to break the academic lock-step, provide opportunity for participation in socially needed action, . . . and help locally based community service agencies with an infusion of enthusiastic citizens to perform needed work in a creative manner (Steiger 1973).

In California, legislation was passed in 1974 to establish a Community Service Fellowship Program. The legislation states, in part, that

> The society provides substantial incentives which urge young individuals to enter a formal institution of higher education. . . . Active involvement in the community between an individual's experience in high school and entrance into higher education and the period during which the young person interrupts his college or university experience should be viewed as equally legitimate learning options by both the young person and the society. . . . Student learning is viewed by many as an active process involving the factor of individual motivation. Traditional higher education continues to emphasize the passive involvement of students. . . . The young person's academic program and career choices are very often based upon inadequate information and minimal nonschool experience (California State Legislature 1974).

In conclusion, a number of national panels and policy makers have raised issues for public debate concerning the maturation process for young people—the transition from youth to adulthood and especially the transition from school to work. Central to the transition process is the need for work experience opportunities. A question of critical importance to be addressed in a later section, however, is the appropriate role for educational institutions in the socialization of youth into adult society. Whose responsibility is it and to what extent should experiential education programs seek to recognize this need?

The Changing World of Work: New Work Needs

Unfortunately, little attention has been devoted in the literature to analyzing the changes that are taking place in the "world of work" and their impact on higher education. For example, observers tell us that in the future most people will have as many as two or possibly three different careers during their "work lifetime," and actual time spent in a career will occupy less of the working life of the average adult. These and other changes will require dramatic changes in the

educational system. In this section we will outline some of the major changes predicted for the world of work, and the significance of these changes for experiential education.

Work in America (1972) summarizes the findings of a task force established by Secretary Richardson of HEW and chaired by James O'Toole. This wide-ranging study of the "institution of work" takes as its point of departure the premise that "work"—broadly defined as socially useful activity—is of central importance to the lives of most adults. Work performs economic, psychological and social functions, and provides individuals with a status, a sense of identity, and an opportunity for social interaction. Yet the task force concludes that large numbers of American workers at all occupational levels are pervasively dissatisfied with the quality of their working lives. Significant numbers of employed workers are locked into "dull, repetitive, seemingly meaningless tasks, offering little challenge or autonomy." Numerous others, including large numbers of older workers, "suffer the ultimate in job dissastisfaction" of being completely deprived of an opportunity to work at "meaningul jobs." Furthermore, underemployment (workers capable of doing more difficult jobs than they do) and overeducation (more education than is required for the job) are continuing problems.

The principal sources of worker discontent are the "confines of the individual workplace." Both the process of work "breakdown" and specialization and the diminished opportunities for autonomy are the central villains of the report. Although these trends have been observable for many years, what is new in the current climate is a revolutionary change in attitudes and values among many members of the work force—especially youth, minorities, and women. Because of increased educational achievement and the resultant higher expectations, these groups place greater emphasis on the "intrinsic" aspects of work—its inherent challenge and interest—and less on strictly material rewards. The study states:

> A general increase in their educational and economic status has placed many American workers in a position where having an interesting job is now as important as having a job that pays well . . . and that the organization of work has not changed fast enough to keep up with rapid and widescale changes in worker attitudes, aspirations, and values *(Work in America* 1973, p.x,xi).

While *Work in America* provides valuable insights into the institution of work and the need for the reorganization of work, it provides little insight and guidance on the equally important need for a new

system of education interrelated with the world of work. The National Manpower Institute has recently devoted considerable attention to the loss and cost, in both individual and system terms of the increasing mismatch between people's education and training or experience on the one hand and new or different manpower needs on the other. The Institute is currently exploring programs that more effectively interrelate and integrate the educational and employment processes or functions. The Institute believes that educational curricula must be redesigned to provide "experience" opportunities so that education can include a fuller preparation for life following it (The National Manpower Institute [1975]). Others have supported this general notion that education should be more relevant to work and that experiential learning is an important means of achieving that end (Berg 1970).

Experiential Education and Career Exploration

The tightening employment market during the first half of the 1970's has highlighted a problem of dramatic concern to many graduates: What type of job will they be able to find after graduation? Many proponents of experiential education argue that students will benefit in a practical way from work-learning experiences that provide opportunities for career exploration, career testing, and career development. In this section the nature of the career problem will be examined and the numerous arguments for experiential education programs identified.

Recently the College Placement Council named a special committee to examine the problems increasingly encountered by liberal arts graduates in deciding what career avenues to follow and in locating employment (College Placement Council 1975). At the root of the problem is the phenomenon of supply versus demand. Each year there is an increase in the number of college graduates, yet the overall number of jobs requiring college training fails to increase proportionately. In 1960-61 there were 368,000 bachelor's degree graduates. Projections by the U.S. Department of HEW indicate that by 1980-81, the number will increase to 1,005,000—almost three times as many. Furthermore, the proportion of students concentrating in the humanities, social sciences, and related liberal arts disciplines is also increasing (from 42 percent in 1960-61 to a projected 58 percent in 1980-81). Contributing to this problem is the decrease in available jobs in two traditional fields of employment for liberal arts students, teaching and social service.

The College Placement Council concludes:

> Some (students) are unaware of employment options they could pursue, some take a passive attitude and procrastinate until late in the senior year before giving serious consideration to post-college plans, most have no skills of interest to employers. Obviously, the means must be found to make the graduate with a fundamental liberal arts education more aware of the work world and more competitive in the employment marketplace (College Placement Council 1975, p. 3).

Two recommendations are that colleges and universities provide opportunities for various types of experiential education (for example, cooperative education, part-time and intermittent work-learning experiences, and internships) and that employers participate actively in cooperative education, internships, and career information programs.

In his commencement address at Ohio State University, President Gerald Ford spoke of the career problems facing today's graduates. He said, "The first of these problems is summed up by the editor of your campus newspaper. She reports that the one dominant question in the minds of this year's graduates is very simple: How can I get a job that makes sense as well as money?" He also stated: "Although this Administration will not make promises it cannot keep, I do want to pledge one thing to you here and now. I will do everything in my power to bring education and employers together in a new climate of credibility. . ." (Ford 1974). These statements demonstrate the national concern for the problem of assisting students to find satisfying employment and may indicate a willingness to explore experiential education options. They do not, however, inform us exactly how such options will need to be designed and implemented.

Further spotlighting the importance of the need for a clearer relationship between the education system and the world of work is the recent study by Daniel Yankelovich, "The New Morality—A Profile of American Youth in the '70s," in which he states: "Another indication of the new careerism is the sharply increased proportion of students who come to college merely for practical purposes. The size of the 'career-minded group' has increased from 55% in 1968 to 66% in 1973" (Yankelovich in College Placement Council 1975, p. 8).

Finally, U.S. Office of Education Commissioner T.H. Bell has recently stated:

> I feel that the college that devotes itself totally and unequivocally to the liberal arts today is just kidding itself. Today we in education must recognize that it is our duty to provide our students also with salable skills

> . . . As I see it, . . . education is preparation for life, and living without meaningful work is just not living life to its full meaning and purpose (T. H. Bell 1975).

Robert A. Goldwin, Special Consultant to the President, has responded to Bell's statement by saying that the definition of salable skills needs to be broadened to include analytical thinking, experimenting, and calculating, which he defines as "liberal skills" (Goldwin 1975).

Each of the above spokesmen echo the similar theme of the need for education that has career relevance; furthermore, the increased activity in career planning and placement offices in liberal arts colleges across the country is a strong indicator that students in the 1970's are expecting increasingly practical results from time and money spent on education.

Despite these concerns there is a lack of rigorous examination of "career development" appropriate to and integrated with programs of general education. Formal structures for career exploration that familiarize students with work responsibilities and help them make informed career choices will need to be conceived and developed. Nevertheless a number of programs and practitioners have *inferred* the relationship between internship and work-experience programs and their potential for responding directly to many of the above needs. The literature does not tell us how such experiential education programs meet these needs nor does it comment on the effectiveness of such efforts. Most of the writings present "impressionistic evidence" and merely assume that work experiences for students are important and by definition must be useful for career exploration and development objectives.

VanAalst and Winters (1974) argue for internship opportunities for students to test career interests and learn skills that are applicable to specific vocations. Other commentators repeating this same viewpoint include Ritterbush:

> A learning assignment in the field may afford the best possible orientation to questions of career definition or choice among professions. Planning for forecasting, direct social services, and communication, to name but a few fields, take place in many different kinds of settings calling for different kinds of preparation and advanced training. Many students are unable to make good use of their undergraduate opportunities for lack of a realistic grasp of their own future needs. For others, the choice of a career is a last-minute improvisation which can lead to waste and despair (Ritterbush 1974).

Evergreen State College has instituted a Career Learning Program that is designed to provide students with assistance in career exploration, career decision making, and professional career training. Other examples include a legal program at Staten Island Community College organized to open the world of the law to community college students by placing them in interships in consumer protection agencies and courts. The Business Laboratory Program at Chicago State University provides opportunities for students to "test the wisdom of your career choice—as it applies to you personally—prior to graduation and before becoming locked into a profession that may not be suitable" (Chicago State University 1975).

Finally, the State University of New York at Binghamton has instituted the Off-Campus Internship Program for Graduate Students, which is designed to open new career alternatives for graduate students in all academic disciplines. Students trained to teach must now redirect their career objectives and a six-month to one-year internship in nonuniversity work positions is designed to offer new career outlets for participating students. One could list many other examples of recently established experiential education programs primarily designed to help students cope with difficult education and career decisions and to provide a base in education and experience from which they can make easier transitions from college to work. Two exemplary programs are the Work-Learn Program at the University of California, Davis, and the Career Exploration Program at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington.

Cooperative education programs, according to Patricia Cross, are increasingly popular because of their relevance to many of the problems plaguing established American higher education, and especially because they increase the probability of jobs for graduates (Cross 1974). Cooperative education programs attempt to integrate classroom experience and practical work experience in industrial, business, government, or service-type work situations in the community. Many cooperative education programs are career-oriented, with the work experience totally in the student's major field of study and directly related to what the student intends to pursue after graduation. Other cooperative education programs operate on the premise that the relationship of one type of work to the student's anticipated career goals is less important and encourage the student to sample and test a wide variety of jobs. The most common advantage given for employers' participation, according to Cross, is

> recruitment of future workers. Not only does the employer have an opportunity to interest promising young people in his field of work, but he has an opportunity to screen temporary cooperative employees for their desirability as permanent employees, and for their promise as future supervisory personnel (Cross 1974, p. 28).

In a recent case study at NASA's Langley Research Center it was concluded that career development for professionals will achieve best results when recruits are taken into the organization in cooperative work-study programs before they have graduated from college (Jarrell 1974). Students who had participated in cooperative education programs also exhibited more rapid rates of advancement. In summary, cooperative education programs have demonstrated the potential benefits of experiential education in the area of recruitment. Career exploration, involvement in practical training opportunities, and contact with staff and organizational personnel who subsequently can be of assistance in attaining a job—each suggests extremely attractive incentives for both student and employer.

It is clear, however, that further research is needed to determine the extent to which various types of experiential education programs enhance future job prospects and career development in general. The CAEL Project (Cooperative Assessment for Experiential Learning) at the Educational Testing Service should contribute to this need for evaluation as the project proceeds to develop techniques for assessing the learning outcomes of work experience and in its efforts to define a taxonomy of basic competencies in the world of work. Further efforts must be promoted to understand how and to what extent experiential education programs provide students with specific job competencies if we are to understand the real potential for career development.

Experiential Education and Issues of Employment in Society

Experiential education opportunities frequently provide salaries and financial resources for participating students. Though in many cases these financial resources are defended as being of secondary importance, they cannot be overlooked; in fact in some cases they may provide a range of significant personal benefits. In analyzing student reasons for participating in the cooperative education program at Alderson-Broaddus College, Smith discovered the "primary motivation for students is financial aid" (Smith 1974, p. 17). More generally, it can be further argued that work experiences provide income necessary to youth for a measure of economic independence from adults.

In the present period of rising unemployment and corollary gov-

ernment efforts to respond with job development and public service employment programs, youth unemployment will undoubtedly increase, requiring a major response from all levels of government. Efforts will be required to direct available federal funds for "anti-recession jobs" into student and youth assistance programs. As Cross argues, "If we are moving to a commitment of life-long learning and to breaking down the barriers between learning and earning, then a young student may have as much right to a job as anyone else" (Cross 1974, p. 33).

A brief glance at the Canadian government's response to youth unemployment in the late 1960's and early 1970's may prove instructive for the U.S. and suggests an argument for work experience programs that would significantly increase the national importance of and provide justification for experiential education. In 1970 the problem of jobless summer students in Canada had reached crisis proportions. A record 641,000 students poured into the labor market in May and the student summer unemployment rate nearly doubled. "Opportunities for Youth" was initiated officially in March 1971 when Prime Minister Trudeau announced a $14.7 million fund underwriting summer projects by students. Basically, Opportunities for Youth invites Canadian young people to work together to develop their own proposals for summer employment. Young people join together, develop a project proposal responding to community needs (in such areas as social service, information, recreation, culture and art, environment, research and business), submit it to the government for approval, and implement it. There are few limitations on the types of ideas that can be submitted. From the $39.9 million set aside for the 1973 program, 4,330 projects were funded and some 37,392 students were employed.

The Canadian Opportunities for Youth Program did *not* emerge from an educational perspective; instead the opportunity to create employment for youth and a concern for bridging the gap between school and work were responsible for the creation of the program. Nevertheless, a significant number of student-initiated experiential opportunities were made possible by this energetic and perhaps idealistic program of the Canadian government. In conclusion, advocates of experiential education may wish to analyze more closely issues of employment and youth unemployment when developing rationales for increasing work-experience options and for obtaining public support and resources to make these programs possible.

Work and Service

In the previous discussions of Yankelovich and *Work in America* we observed that changes are required in the workplace and that students are perceiving new work needs; however, it is unclear what relationship work will have to service. Will they be compatible or contradictory in the future lives of the young people of today? Several proponents of experiential education programs which involve students in service roles argue that such opportunities promote a service-learning life-style. Not only is a new concept of service promoted, but a way of involving students in reaching societal goals is articulated. In this section we will review the "service" arguments of experiential education and discuss both the practical and philosophical dimensions of service.

One of the earliest "service-learning" programs (initiated by the Southern Regional Education Board in 1967) was begun to provide manpower assistance to economic and social development agencies in the South through student interns working on specific community projects (Southern Regional Education Board 1972). Officials in service agencies recognized that students could expand an agency's outreach. Eberly comments: "Interns are young. They possess the energy, imagination, ideals, and mobility of youth. Further, they serve only a short time which permits a wide array of experiments with little risk of loss from those which fail" (Eberly 1973, p. 9).

Through experiential education programs, students can become involved in projects that an agency might have wanted to get done for some time but simply did not have the time or the right manpower to complete; they also can bring a fresh perspective to the agency. The following eight benefits have been attributed to organizations hosting students through service-learning experiential programs:

1. An immediate source of temporary manpower.
2. Screening and recruitment of future employees.
3. Access to skills and knowledge of academic institutions.
4. Opportunities for supervisors, as well as interns, to learn ways to manage work and learning for themselves.
5. Opportunities to examine the learning and teaching dimensions of their own organizations.
6. Access to thoughts and attitudes of the young (ventilation).
7. Invigoration of permanent staff through the presence of students.
8. Fostering creditable witnesses (interns and faculty) about the nature and worth of the organizations in promoting the public interest.

Harlan Cooper summarizes the student perspective on the issue of providing service:

> You are able to become involved in significant issues and problems, and at the same time, maintain your independence. And most significantly, you have the opportunity to make a difference. Whichever agency you serve with, your actions have consequences that affect the way other people live (Cooper 1974).

Numerous other programs exist primarily (or at lea[illegible]nificantly) *because* of the services provided by students. "Project Interface" at the University of Dayton was organized to "enable institutions and persons to collaborate in effecting a positive impact in certain specific environments of their choice" (University of Dayton 1970). In the 1970 academic year approximately 195 students participated in "action-context" courses working on social and community service projects in Dayton. Likewise the University of Pittsburgh's "Student Consultant Project" was designed to bring technical assistance from the university to ghetto community businessmen. "SCP" represents a working model of student involvement with social action, an ongoing effort within the community emphasizing cooperation between the university and one of its constituencies. It was believed that students would be able to apply newly acquired knowledge to improve the economic and social conditions of their community. In summary, we observe that a number of experiential education programs have as a primary goal assisting community agencies, with students being viewed chiefly as manpower service to the client system. The knowledge and learning obtained by the student may be viewed as a secondary objective.

Throughout much of the literature there is considerable concern for the need to provide equal attention to the service dimension as well as the learning dimension of experiential education programs. Cooper highlights this sentiment:

> But if service is the only objective in such a program, it may be simply a means of cheap manpower for an agency that needs the kind of talents that a young person can offer. In many cases where the student is simply seen as manpower, he is asked to use skills—manual or mental—which he already possesses. He is not required to extend himself in terms of his own learning, personal growth, and accomplishment, as fully as possible. Some programs function chiefly as entry channels for a career in a particular agency. All of these things can be good, but they can be much more effective if they are coupled with a deliberate effort to question, to conceptualize, to interpret and to use the experience for maximum learning benefits (Cooper 1974).

The other extreme can be equally dangerous — programs with only a learning dimension that tend to exploit an agency as an information source or a place for training.

Eberly argues that individuals involved with experiential education programs should not view the relationship between the service and the learning dimension as an "either-or" proposition.

> What has to be carefully watched now are the standards of service and learning and the balance between the two. The promise of service-learning will succumb to a collapse in the quality of either dimension. The best assurance of balance seems to come about when the employer/supervisor has a vested interest in getting a good performance out of the student, and the teacher/professor has a vested interest in extending the intellect of the student and of assessing that extension (Eberly 1974, p. 2).

The concern for achieving a balance between service and learning is important because it reflects the interrelatedness of the numerous arguments for experiential education discussed throughout this paper. Shapek submits that there should be two fundamental requirements of a service-learning internship,

> that it provide a needed service to the sponsoring agency and that it is a learning experience for the participants, particularly the intern. Service-learning is the integration of the accomplishment of a needed task with educational growth (Shapek 1974, p. 158).

A final issue of importance raised in the literature embraces several ethical problems encountered by both the student and university when participating in service-oriented community programs. The Buckles summarize these concerns:

> By choosing to provide professional services to a community the university introduces several ethical dilemmas—how is the community to be protected; what relationship should hold between the university and professional practitioner; does field activity place undue responsibility on the participating students as a result of intervention in a politically active situation (S. and L. Buckle in Ritterbush 1972, p. 90)?

These and further issues relating to the service dimension of experiential education will be expanded upon in the section on citizenship.

Experiential Education: Transforming or Maintaining the World of Work?

We have argued that experiential education is both a revitalizing component for general education and a stimulus for institutional

change of the relationship between the university and the community; however, in this chapter's discussion on the world of work we observe contradictory themes expressed by the question: Does experiential education transform or maintain the world of work? This critical question is overlooked in much of the literature and it is unclear the extent to which experiential education either supports the status quo of the world of work or encourages major changes in the world of work for the future. There are several authors who attempt to deal partially with this basic question by taking to task some of the existing work experience programs that have largely served to prepare students for the existing world of work.

Robert Sigmon challenges some of the cooperative education programs by presenting a caricature of the co-op work assignment: "If I do a good job, impress the company, keep my nose clean and do not ask too many questions, then I might be able to land a good job after graduation." Sigmon notes that "most of us acknowledge the power of private organizations as shapers of society, yet we do little with our opportunities to relate work, learning and value exploration" (Sigmon in Ritterbush 1972, p. 42).

Eberly in his discussion of resource development internship programs speaks for the "restructuring of jobs," suggesting that the internship approach may serve as a "model for the transformation of the classical notion of a job into one that has meaning and relevance" (Eberly 1973, p. 9). The National Manpower Institute envisions work experiences for students that will provide an increased awareness of the world of work in terms of its variety, limitations, promise, and demands at both technical and interpersonal levels (Wirtz, forthcoming). Young people will need to be actively engaged in improving the quality of work environments in which they will participate as adult workers. They need to examine the nature of the work ethic, become familiar with and distinguish among various leadership and management styles, and explore future work and life styles.

Steven Zwerling from Staten Island Community College identifies two groups of students who need different things from education: "new students," primarily children of blue-collar workers who are usually the first in their family to attend college, and "traditional students," who have traditionally attended college, are perhaps more affluent and are normally high achievers in high school. Zwerling poses two alternative strategies for developing internship or experiential education programs based on the achievements and aspirations of each group of students: field study that is both prepro-

fessional and humanistic for the "traditional student" and specialized and prepractical off-campus work-study for the "new student." He then asks:

> But is this the best way to proceed? It is if we want to reinforce the current social order while promulgating an illusion of the rich possibilities for social mobility via universal higher education. However, if we want to help make the rhetoric that supports open access to higher education a functioning reality, we had better come up with learning structures that will enable new students to rise within the society in ways that reflect their true potential (Zwerling in Duley 1974, p. 2).

Experiential education programs can be effective in releasing rather than containing the potential of a diversity of individuals for new roles in the world of work and can have far reaching impact on transforming the nature of future careers.

The Individual As Citizen

Relatively little attention has been devoted in the literature to the importance of experiential education in preparing students for their roles as citizens or developing "civic competencies." In this chapter we will briefly review several arguments that present experiential education as serving a much broader set of purposes than the work and career advancement objectives of the previous discussions.

Advocating "political internships," Hennessy observes that few colleges or universities have provided deliberate political or citizenship education programs for their students. Experiential education programs that require participation in the political process will be an important part of political education. Hennessy submits: "The democratic ethos requires that large numbers of citizens develop and maintain a commitment to amateur participation in politics" (Hennessey 1970, p. 9).

In many of the writings about "service-learning" and "action-learning" programs there unfortunately exists little distinction between secondary and postsecondary academic institutions and their respective roles in fostering civic competencies. Some authors attempt to blur the distinction, speaking more about a common age group of 16 to 21 that overlaps both educational levels. Havighurst, Graham, and Eberly suggest that "action-learning offers an alternative for all (students), a needed alternative for the increasingly information-rich, action-poor world of the young" and a necessary exposure to the ongoing functioning of society's institutions (Havighurst, Graham, Eberly 1973, p. 54).

Aronstein and Olsen believe that experiential education programs are at the center of democratic society and education:

> Today we realize as never before that practical citizenship must be the very heart of democratic education. We know, too, that this citizenship must be learned through satisfying personal experiences in community improvement projects during the period of formal schooling as well as afterward. Teachers with foresight and patience can do much to provide functional, realistic, democratic education based partly upon cooperative community service whereby students and community will mutually benefit (Aronstein and Olsen 1974, p. 13).

The recent development of state-level internship programs in such states as Georgia, North Carolina, California, South Dakota, Wash-

ington, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island suggests a potentially new arena for student civic participation. The state is increasingly viewed as an important and significant level of government, the level frequently ignored by scholars and citizens alike. These state internship programs can open up new opportunities for students to come into direct contact with the functioning of state government.

Sigmon argues that new avenues are needed for the young to gain a "sense of responsibility for the future." He presents the following observation about young people:

> Feeling themselves passive victims to complex economic policies and technological forces, increasingly the young no longer feel any responsibility for the future. As a result, many youth seek options to schooling and jobs by moving into odysseys of self-reflection through drugs, yoga, evangelical religion, and other forms of behavior. And if they stay in school or take jobs, their apathy, boredom, and dissatisfaction rate is higher than most of us care to admit (Sigmon 1974b, p. 1).

Sigmon proposes consciously arranged experiences that provide intersections between formal learning and work, service, and leisure activities. These experiences will stimulate young people to take responsibility for the future, challenging youth to find a better way for serving and being served by society. This somewhat missionary vision of experiential education programs and their importance for building citizenship is based in part on a view of society that Robert Greenleaf talks about in his booklet, *The Institution as Servant:*

> This is my thesis: caring for persons, the more able and the less able serving each other, is the rock upon which a good society is built. Whereas, until recently, caring was largely man-to-man, now most of it is mediated through institutions—often large, complex, powerful, impersonal, not always competent; sometimes corrupt. If a better society is to be built, one that is more just and more loving, one that provides greater creative opportunity for its people, then the most open course is to raise both the capacity to serve and the very performance as servant of existing major institutions by new regenerative forces operating within them (Greenleaf in Sigmon 1974b, p. 7).

The notion of "service" highlighted by Sigmon and Greenleaf (perhaps with a new perspective and vision) appears in much of the literature about experiential education with the inference that individuals will be better citizens if they are motivated to work and learn in communities. Unfortunately there is minimal empirically verifiable evidence as to whether students who have participated in experiential education programs become more active in community activities. However, some program evaluations have been conducted

that demonstrate the success of experiential education programs aimed at fostering the service motivation of students (Kiel 1972). An equally important theme is that experiential education programs help to develop more knowledgeable and concerned attitudes toward community problem solving.

A major program evaluation of the Urban Corps programs (students working in local government and community service agencies) in 20 cities in 1970 determined the impact of internships on the student's sense of civic obligation. Goldstein concluded that

> there is the feeling that these programs can cause positive changes in attitudes towards urban problems and needs, make the student a more informed and therefore more effective citizen, and perhaps even encourage a career in public service. A successful internship experience can have a dramatic effect on the perception of a young man or woman towards his or her local government, enabling him or her to view it in a more objective and, hopefully, positive light. The severe negative attitude which most young people today carry towards local government can be changed, but this requires giving them the chance to become a real part of it, to see what is right—and wrong—and to have a meaningful role in dealing with the problems and needs of the community (Goldstein 1971, p. 16).

Ralph Nader has frequently been an advocate of experiential education, stating that field experiences provide opportunities for students to practice "citizenship" and to learn about society (Nader 1974). Likewise the Opportunities for Youth Program in Canada, described earlier, was developed with similar citizenship objectives in mind to involve students in community service projects. In announcing the program, Prime Minister Trudeau stated:

> We are saying in effect to the youth of Canada that we are impressed by their desire to fight pollution, that we believe they are well-motivated in their concern for the disadvantaged, that we have confidence in their value system. We are also saying that we intend to challenge them to see if they have the stamina and the self-discipline to follow through on their criticism and advice (Trudeau 1971, p. 1).

However, the extent to which experiential education can develop civic competencies is subject to debate, largely as a result of the confusion surrounding the recent decline of student activism. Closely interrelated forces are cited as causing this decline, which has resulted in the inability to interest students in community projects—namely, a reemergence of student self-interest caused by current economic and career conditions and at the same time the exhaustion and frustration associated with the political activity of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Regardless of the cause, the contemporary student is perceived,

as a general trend, to be retreating to the academic ivory tower. Yet the increasing popularity of public-need experiential education programs cited earlier appears to be in contrast to the decline in student activism. Seidel and Kerwin submit that these programs

> exist as one residual link between the activism of the past and the purported self-interestedness of the present. Channeling their efforts through existing social and governmental institutions, students have attempted to satisfy their desire for service, while supplementing traditional academic preparation with actual career-situation training (Seidel and Kerwin 1974).

As more experiential education programs are organized to involve more students in public and community service roles, and are evaluated, the potential for promoting civic obligation and educating "citizen participants" through experiential education programs will become clearer.

An additional perspective of the citizenship argument emerges from the general public concern about the increasing development of a technocratic society and the need for an educational process that will prepare individuals to control the complex technologies of the future. Sagen argues that "task oriented competencies" should be sought through undergraduate education and without the achievement of which, in Sagen's words, "the result will be first, a nation of technicians who lack the capacity to predict the potential implications of their actions; and second, a nation of citizens and leaders who lack the wisdom to judge the proposals of technicians" (Sagen 1973, p. 9). As we have discussed elsewhere, experiential education programs clearly provide opportunities for students to develop the "task oriented competencies." Experiential education can help students to become responsible and intelligent citizens—an objective that requires greater attention from educational institutions.

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the literature of experiential education calls for a new interpretation of the relationships of the individual to those institutions that affect him, including education, the workplace, and citizenship. Furthermore, this literature demands a reinterpretation of the relationship of these three dimensions of modern life to one another. The writers suggest that to create an environment hospitable to true "life-long learning" the relationships between learning and working and serving must be redrawn in such a way that the individual can gain more from all three activities and see that the three activities are not necessarily unrelated. To reach this goal, basic changes are necessary, although it is not the purpose of this study to explore these changes in detail.

Several other issues also emerge from a review of experiential education. These include the need to rethink the methods of teaching general or liberal arts education and to relate this type of learning to the acquisition of specific competencies or skills. There is also an increasingly more visible need to consider the career needs and aspirations of students and to relate their educational programs more clearly to experiential education. Also needed are new ways of enlivening work, so that learning may take place wthout the complete interruption of the work process and disadvantage to the worker as he tries to accomplish personal goals. At the same time the changing workplace itself needs closer evaluation. And the basic nature of the responsibilities of individuals in a democratic society demands that new strategies be developed to demonstrate to the individual ways of participating fruitfully in the process of citizenship and ways to use the tools developed through education to contribute to the improvement of the environment in which he lives.

Finally, a broad view of the concept of experiential education will lead to still other questions, which of course have not been explored here. But the purpose of this study has been to discuss in some detail the extent of the exploration currently available and to suggest additional questions requiring further exploration. We hope that this booklet has raised a significant number of these questions.

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